2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

593 587 584 another husband. "My brother found a man for me. I did not want that man but I could say nothing against my brother," (26). The males of the group were in authority and their responsibility for the sister was resumed as soon as her connection with the distant village ceased.

593 This sometimes happened without her losing her husband. For various reasons, listed elsewhere, she might find it convenient to return with her husband and share the family land. No objection was ever made to this practice and for three groups of brothers only, there are five groups including one or more sisters. (I. 1. A. B. C. D. E; I. 3. B. 5. 9. and 12; I. 6. A. B. C. D; I. 7. A. B. C; I. 8. A B. C. D. E). In such a case, the sister's husband was given exactly the same status as a brother, sharing land, services and payments. But the sex division continued for even adult men should not converse too freely with their sisters. It was the sister's husband who received intimate treatment, while the sister joined the group of her brother's wives.

605 Outside the group of blood brothers and sisters, were the "distant siblings", the cross and parallel cousins on both side of the house with whom marriage was forbidden. But the relationship was sometimes rather vague if the relative lived in a distant village. "They married me to one whom I called elder brother but he was very distant. And he lived in another village so we thought there was no harm" (26). In childhood, if cousins were the children of brothers, they might live very intimately but as they grew up, they formed their own sibling groups and were cut off from their former companions. Still, they were thought of as potential intimates and, whenever the geographic difficulty could be overcome, they were accepted into the circle. "I heard this story from my father's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter. She was living with us that winter" (26). In cases of necessity, also, duty to a sibling had to be done at all costs. I. B. 1 was an old man with three wives but when his distant senior sibling died and there was no one to marry the widow I. B. 1 became her titular husband although neither he nor she cared to have her live with him.

428 593 It may be of interest to note whether Papago behavior shows any emphasis on seniority outside that involved in the levirate and sororate. Very little is apparent for, although in the origin myth, the supernaturals strove for the title of Elder Brother, no modern informant could explain why the title was important. Such a title is usually connected with inheritance of property or office but Papago sons inherit the father's land equally, sometimes without dividing it. I. 1. 8. B. 1, an oldest brother, voluntarily absented himself and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

left the inherited field to the others. Ceremonial and secular office were handed down by the father, not to the oldest son but to that one fittest to receive them. "I started teaching my ritual to my oldest son, but it seemed he couldn't learn. Then I tried the second but he was always away, working for the Whites. Now I must get a nephew," (2). The father-in-law of 21 tried teaching the calendar stick to his son, found him a poor memorizer and gave it to his son-in-law. Thus the eldest does not inherit property or office nor does he, apparently have authority. (I. 1. A an oldest son and II 1. 8. A. 2, an oldest daughter, took authority in their groups, but this was rather by virtue of character than seniority.) It is true there is authority in the family but it is exercised by the brothers in a group over the sisters, not by one oldest son.

Seniority would seem to be referable only to sororate and levirate, which dictated the kinship terms and we may question whether its appearance in the myth is not also a heritage from some of the other cultures where the same myth is found and where the older brother may have more importance.

Sibling behavior according to this data matches sibling terminology in those points emphasized by the terms, which are points having to do with marriage. Cousins on both sides of the house are considered equal and are impossible as mates while their age status is important because of junior levirate and sororate. But in daily life there appear two other important factors, not reflected in the terms: sex of the relative which conditions social behavior and geographic situation on which all kin behavior is contingent.

PARENT CLASS. Probably the most intimate relation in Papago life was that between father and son. The father was the head of an economic unit, with his sons as his working staff. He directed their labor and arranged for the sale of the produce. If new equipment was needed for any member of the family out of the common supply, he decided upon it. He was responsible for the behavior of his sons and, long after their marriage, he continued to direct them by moral discourse. He, with the mother, decided upon the marriages and received the brides under his protection. When the sons underwent ceremonial purification it was he, first of all, who should make the payment and receive the consequent blessing. He continued as their protector and advisor until his own death, and began very early to train one of them to carry on any office he might hold or to practice any skill. Hunting or weaving, therefore, ran in special families, where the father passed on his knowledge to his sons.

Although the father was so definitely the head of the family, he ruled, as did the chief, by moral suasion rather than by force. He and

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

768 428 case, are still in process of formation. Wagons and farm tools, sewing machine and kitchen range, are family tools, in the same status as, formerly, the stone axe and the rope twister, the pots and baskets. They used to be distributed, by informal arrangement, men's tools to men, womens' tools to women. But the added value of present day tools causes disagreement which must finally lead to some form of testament.

LAND

423 The essential interest of a family was in the land which had been cleared and ditched by its men and whose use was, therefore, regarded as a perpetual right. An agricultural settlement was known simply as the Fields, the flimsy houses being secondary and these Fields had generally been discovered and settled by a family group. The place chosen was in the flat plain where a wash, rushing down from the mountains, finally lost its momentum, ceased to cut a channel and spread its waters over the level land for a square mile or more. The clay, soaked by the standing water, furnished the planting ground while the houses were placed on some slight elevation away from the flood.

The group of settlers distributed the fields among their households, choosing a leader to oversee the process. If they were only a few, any older man might take charge. A larger group elected a leader who must ultimately be approved by the leader of the home village. Under his direction, the group held a meeting and parcelled out the flood plain into plots of two or three acres. At the beginning, there was usually more than enough for all since the Papago planted very little wheat and all they needed was a garden patch for corn, beans and pumpkins. The writer, on inquiring how all could be accomodated so easily, has often been told: "But you don't know how small our fields were. There was more than enough."

Each family head received a field which would serve for himself and his sons and he marked its corners with large stones or stakes. These were frequently washed away and then there were boundary difficulties but most Papago denied that they resulted in quarreling. "They just talked together and put the marks back." However the writer has seen clowns at the harvest feast, mimicking farm life and surreptitiously moving boundary stones. If there were a [627] dispute it is acknowledged that the parties went to the governor, who generally reconciled them by common sense and moral suasion. If one of them insisted that he needed more land, the governor suggested that he go further out and dig a new field.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

and baskets. In later days, a man's riding horse was killed by the grave. Food was placed outside, generally in miniature dishes[1] (29). There was no prescription as to the kind of food but pinole and, water, the standard diet, were always included. 764

Ceremonial property was inherited by a successor and not buried. It was in any case kept outside the house so that it had not been contaminated by the death and the deceased had generally appointed one of his descendants or relatives to be the future custodian. A shaman's rattle and plumes were not inherited, but it was thought that they should not be placed in the grave, because that would ruin their power. "The power should be left loose in the world for someone to find." 764 428

All the members of the geographic unit came to the grave, wailing. There was no time for others to be summoned and, in that hot country, corpses were disposed of immediately. After the corpse had been seated in place and the property placed around him, one of the oldest and nearest (a father, mother or spouse) spoke to him, in words which were impromptu, but always in the same general terms. He began, as on all ceremonial occasions, with the salute by the kin term. 764

> "My daughter's child! You were dear to me. Now you are gone. I shall not see you again. Go now, my daughter's child, I beg of you and do not come back to frighten your relatives." (33)
>
> "My father! We are giving you all your possessions. We give you your horse, so you can enjoy yourself with your kinsmen. Don't wish for us or wish to come back; you have left us. Neither will we wish for you back." (20)
>
> "My child! Go! Do not come back. Your place is not here any longer. Your place is with the dead. Do not trouble us." (9)

Each relative in turn then saluted the dead, using the kin term for the last time and adjuring him: "Go! Do not come back." Then one of the women, properly the oldest of the household, set food and water by the grave. For four days after the funeral, the relatives took food to the grave or, according to some, they took it on the fourth day (11). "But with children, we took it twice a day, because they need help" (11).

At the end of this time some older relative or friend advised the mourners: "Now it is finished. You know this comes to everyone, but now you must try to forget your sorrow, for if you think too much about it you might get sick. We are all sorry for the dead, but let it be. You know the penalty of thinking about death" (1).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

596 464 seldom asked to do so, but neglect of this obligation soon becomes known, and the offender is severely censured by persons outside the household.

423 Just as each family member does his share toward maintaining the group, so each has an interest in the means of subsistence. As previously noted, all 428 land belongs to the tribe, and families are allowed to use as much as they need 596 on assignment by the village or district council. Fields ordinarily continue to be used by the same family after the death of its head. All the sons inherit equally, sometimes without division. Thus, ideally, all family members, even though they are not living with the group, are entitled to use these fields as needed, but nowadays there are occasional difficulties when absent members wish to return to the land.

422 Cattle and horses are individually owned, although those belonging to various members of the family are usually herded together. Each family has 428 its own brand, some small difference in the mark designating individual ownership. The head of the house may give certain animals to each of his children as they grow up, but on his death the main herd usually goes to the new head of the house unless other arrangements had been made. The tribal code of laws has provisions for wills after the white fashion, and a dispute over inheritance can be brought before the tribal court if no amicable settlement can be made otherwise.

231 The strong attachment of the Papago to their fields doubtless dates from 868 tribal prehistory, but cattle and horses have also become highly important since [191] their acquisition from whites. The active life of many a Papago man centers in his horses and cattle, and they are the first interest of all little boys. In early childhood a boy begins to swing a rope and lasso stumps, piles of bedding, chickens, and dogs. He runs at a gallop, patting himself as he would a horse, or seizes a stick and canters off. Later he learns to ride, drive the horses to water, and take the reins of the family wagon. He breathes in the excitement of roping and throwing and learns to distinguish brands. Very early he knows which animals in the family herd belong to him, and he sells a steer in his turn when the family needs money. Finally, he is allowed to take part in roundups, to sleep out with the men, to listen to stories around the campfire under the clear stars. He is particularly proud of his horses; he knows that people will regard him with respect because he owns them.

231 Horses, rather than cattle, are the prestige animals. They are often of little economic value, at least in the numbers now owned by the Papago, for many more are kept than can be used in farm and range work, and a recent epidemic of dourine has prevented the sale of horses for any use but slaughter. A Papago does not ordinarily know exactly how many head of cattle he has, but he

WHO--this report is about--Papago Indians

101 [121] [197] This report is concerned specifically with the role in the southern Arizona cotton harvest of over 7,000 Papago Indians who live along the Mexican border. These natives speak a Piman language closely related to others spoken from the Gila River south to the border of Sinaloa in Mexico. They call themselves the Tohono Au'autam, The Desert People.

101 361 131 A few hundred Desert People live on the Mexican side of the border. Some inhabit Indian rancherias--villages with houses scattered barely within sight of each other--close to the frontier, and have contacts with American Papagos. Others eke out a parasitic existence around towns of Mexicans who have taken their [185] lands. They are said to have given up their Indian heritage and are waiting passively to die.

101 [186] [364] [194] [891] The thousands of Desert People in the U. S. are a people with hope and pride in being Indian. A few hundred make a living in low paid jobs in Anglo cities. They have chosen to break away from their Indian heritage in an endeavor to give their children a head start as citizens of wider Anglo-American society, especially by affording them a formal education in public schools.

657 423 [317] Most of the Desert People, however, live in rural semi-desert areas reserved for them by the U. S. from their former territories. The San Xavier community was reserved some of its lands in 1874 by Presidential Executive Order. This 71,090 acre reserve slices through the Santa Cruz River bottoms, and could once be irrigated with surface flow (until Anglos started erosion that cut the channel--and the [312] water table--30 feet below surface) and now is irrigated from wells. Most of it was allotted to individuals, and the useable agricultural and range land [311] is now mostly in heirship status. That is to say its [428] use is amazingly and cripplingly complicated by the fractionalisation of holdings through inheritance. Fortunately, the San Xavier community continues to recognize old use-rights more than the legal allotment system.